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The Authorship of *A Warning for Fair Women*

BY

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, JR.

[Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of
America*, xxviii, 4.]

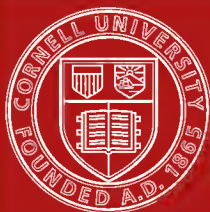
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THE AUTHORSHIP OF *A WARNING FOR FAIR WOMEN*

A Warning for Fair Women was published anonymously in 1599, with the statement on the title-page that it had been "lately diuerse times acted by the right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants." The attribution of the play by Edward Phillips to John Lyly is too absurd for serious consideration.¹ Almost as absurd is Collier's attribution of the play to Shakespeare.² Fleay suggested Thomas Lodge,³ though not without hesitation, for he adds the warning: "I cannot state too emphatically that any attribution of this play to Lodge is conjectural, and founded less on positive evidence than on the method of exhaustion." The "method" referred to is thus explained: "The other writers for the Chamberlain's men at this time were Shakespeare and Jonson. Objectors to my hypothesis of Lodge's authorship may adopt one of these, or (the usual resource) imagine some unknown playwright not elsewhere heard of." But Lodge was probably not engaged in play-writing at this time; so that according to

¹ *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675), p. 113. Phillip's attributions of anonymous plays were usually due to his misunderstanding of certain early catalogues of plays. Winstanley, in *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687), p. 98, blindly repeats, as was his custom, the attribution of Phillips. The attribution was again repeated by Wood, *Athenæ Oænienses*, 1691 (ed. Bliss, 1813, I, p. 676). Bond, in his edition of Lyly, does not discuss the attribution; apparently he regarded it as unworthy of notice.

² *Hist. Eng. Dram. Poet.*, III, pp. 52-4; II, p. 441. Collier, however, felt sure of his attribution. Of one scene he says: "Aut Shakespeare, aut diabolus."

³ *Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama*, II, pp. 54-5. Cf. also his *Chron. Hist. of the Life and Work of Wm. Shak.*, pp. 35, 136, 297.

Fleay's "method" we should be forced to choose between Shakespeare and Jonson.

Naturally Fleay's conjecture has not been favorably received by scholars.¹ Professor Ward, in his *History of English Dramatic Literature*, I, p. 418, sees "no sufficient reason for noticing" such a "conjectural attribution to Lodge" of a play which hardly falls "within the period of his ascertained dramatic activity"; and the writers in *The Cambridge History of English Literature* entirely ignore it. After a prolonged study of *A Warning*, and a comparison of it with the extant plays of Lodge, I can discover no points of similarity either in manner or in spirit. To me the attribution to Lodge seems quite as improbable as the attribution to Lyly.

Thus, the three persons hitherto suggested for the authorship of the play fail to satisfy, and none has been even tentatively accepted by scholars. Yet *A Warning* assuredly was written by a dramatist of ability and experience. Its editor, Richard Simpson, says:² "It is perhaps the most noteworthy of a whole class of plays, those, namely, which dramatize murders"; and Professor Ward (*C. H. E. L.*, VI, p. 109) describes it as "a notable play of its kind." No inexperienced hand could have turned the thin and dull pamphlet of 1573³ into such a well-constructed and effective tragedy. We must, I take

¹ Schelling, in his *Elizabethan Drama*, I, p. 346, says: "This play has been attributed, solely on internal evidence, to Lodge," by M. E. N. Fraser, in an unpublished thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1898. I have sought in vain for the "internal evidence" here referred to: Qy. for "internal" Schelling meant to say "external," i. e., Fleay's argument.

² *The School of Shakespeare*, II, p. 211.

³ *A Brief Discourse of the Late Murther of Master George Saunders*, London, 1573.

it, look for the author among the better known playwrights of 1595-8.

No one, so far as I can discover, has suggested as the author of the play the versatile and industrious Thomas Heywood. Yet on reading *A Warning* immediately after a year's close study of Heywood's works, I felt convinced that he was responsible for its composition. Of Heywood's life at this early period we know little, and that little we are forced to glean from Henslowe's *Diary*. Mr. Greg, in his *Commentary on the Diary*, under "Heywood," says (p. 284): "He was probably employed as a writer by the Admiral's men as early as 1594. He is first mentioned as an author 14/29 Oct. 1596 when Henslowe lent certain of the Admiral's men 30s. 'for hawodes bocke.' He was again writing for the same company in the winter of 1598-9." So far as we know, however, he did not become a regular actor for the Admiral's men until March 25, 1598, when he bound himself to Henslowe for a period of two years. Possibly before that date he was free to sell a play to any other company; it is even possible that his relations with Shakespeare's company led Henslowe to engage him in a regular capacity. At any rate, if enough internal evidence is produced to show that Heywood, in all likelihood, wrote *A Warning*, no very serious objection can be raised from the rather slender information we have concerning his relations with Henslowe before 1598.

My reasons—at least such reasons as are tangible and can be put on paper—for believing that Heywood wrote *A Warning* are as follows:

1. In 1597-8, Heywood was an experienced playwright, well able to turn the meagre prose pamphlet of *The Late Murther of Master George Saunders* into so

good a drama as *A Warning*. He had already written several successful plays, including the *Ages*, and his extraordinary skill in handling domestic tragedy was shortly to be revealed in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*.

2. The play belongs to a type—the domestic drama—in which Heywood was peculiarly at home. The Rev. Ronald Bayne, writing in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, v, p. 362, says of *A Warning*: "It is so steeped in English lower class sentiment and feeling that it will always possess interest and value." Now it is precisely this element that Heywood contributed in full measure to his plays. On this point another scholar, Professor Ward, in the same volume (*C. H. E. L.*, vi, pp. 107-8) says: "In a period of the national history when the middle classes were beginning to assert themselves in the social system of the country . . . it could hardly be but that room should have been found in the drama for exposition of the middle class point of view, middle class morality and middle class humanity. . . . Shakespeare, whose muse was at home on the throne of kings, in the strife of battlefields, or in communion with nature in her moods of elemental agitation or of woodland calm . . . was not responsive to this movement, and, indeed, appears to have been very imperfectly aware of it. . . . Jonson, and his school—including Middleton—on the other hand, treated such griefs and their agents or victims from the point of view of critical superiority. . . . Heywood, in many ways specially attracted and suited to this genre, is the only Elizabethan dramatist of note who attained to eminence in it." Thus in its full and sympathetic revelation of lower class sentiment and feeling, *A Warning* bears the stamp of Heywood's peculiar genius.

3. The style of *A Warning* is throughout strongly suggestive of Heywood. There is the same general level

of excellence, the same easy-flowing, though rarely inspired, blank verse, the same lack of rich or violent imagery, or of attempts at the Marlovian "mighty line." It is hard to be specific in a matter of this sort. I appeal, however, with confidence to students of Heywood, who, I am sure, will recognize in *A Warning* the even flow of the "prose Shakespeare."

Certain tricks of style can be more readily pointed to, such as frequent patches of rhyme, the free mixture of prose and verse, the fondness for balance and for euphuistic passages. Compare the patch of rhyme in *A Warning*, I, 242-272, with similar patches in any of Heywood's earlier plays. Note the euphuistic coloring of the following passage in *A Warning* (I, 471-475):¹

If he be firm, she's fair; if he bountiful
She's beautiful; if he loyal, she's lovely;
If he in all the city for a man
Be the most absolute, she in all the world
Is for a woman the most excellent.

Again (I, 154-5):

Let your good nature hide
The blame of my bad nurture.

Heywood is childishly fond of such balancing with alliteration. Still more artificial and complicated is the following passage in *A Warning* (II, 752-59):

If you can crave it of me with a *tongue*
That hath not bin prophande with wicked vows,

¹ Here, and throughout this paper, the numerals refer to the acts and lines in Richard Simpson's edition of *A Warning*, in *The School of Shakespeare*, 1878, vol. II. The numerals after the plays of Heywood refer to the volumes and pages in Pearson's reprint of Heywood, 6 vols., 1874; those after *H. M. C.*, to the pages in Hazlitt's Dodsley, vol. IX; those after *Captives*, to the pages in Bullen's *Old Plays*, vol. IV.

mark them for himself. The numerous parallels in phraseology I have recorded under section 9.

4. The choruses, perhaps the most original and striking feature of *A Warning*, suggest the choruses in Heywood's early plays. In these plays, as in *A Warning*, the Chorus appears at certain intervals to comment on the action, to introduce and explain the dumb shows, and to help along the play by narration. In manner, the choruses of *A Warning* and of Heywood's plays are almost identical. The Chorus speaks first, then announces the dumb show:

As by this following shew shall more appeare.

—*Warning*, II, 880.

We will make hold to explaine it in dumbe show.

—*Four P.* (II, p. 176).

Now of his death the generall intent

Thus Tragedie doth to your eyes present.

—*Warning*, II, 409-10.

What happen'd them if your desire to know,

To cut off words, we'll act it in dumb show.

—*F. M. W.*, (II, p. 387).

After explaining the dumb show, the Chorus suggests to the imagination of the audience part of the story that the playwright chooses to omit. Thus:

Suppose him on the water now, for Woolwich,

For secret business with his bosom friend;

From thence, as fatal destiny conducts him,

To Mary-Cray, by some occasion call'd.—*Warning*, II, 397-400.

Imagine now these Princes under saile,

Steering their course as far as high-rear'd Troy.

—*B. A.* (III, p. 203).

Thinke Jupiter return'd to Creet in hast.—*G. A.* (III, p. 71).

Imagine Bess and Spencer under sail.—*F. M. W.* (II, p. 386).

Suppose her . . .—*F. M. W.* (II, p. 319).

Your suppositions now must lend us aid.—*S. A.* (III, p. 97).

Moreover, the objective attitude assumed by the Chorus towards the play (with frequent references to "acts," "scenes," "curtains," etc.) is similar:

Yet what I am I will not let you know
Until my next ensuing scene shall show.—*Warning*, I, 90-1.

Must help to fill the sceane.—*Warning*, II, 884.

Now Meleager next must fill our stage.—*B. A.* (III, p. 184).

For from their fortunes all our Scene must grow.
—*Four P.* (II, p. 176).

But now we come unto the dismal act.—*Warning*, II, 6.

Our last act comes.—*B. A.* (III, p. 239).

And in these sable curtains shut we up
The comic entrance to our direful play.—*Warning*, II, 7-8.

Now do we draw the curtain of our scene
To speak of Shore and his fair wife again.
—*K. Ed.* IV. (I, p. 119).

5. The pronounced objection that the playwright had to his theme is significant. He did not approve of the material he was dramatizing (it may well have been an assigned task), and he humbly apologizes for it. At the outset he says (I, 87):

I sigh to think my subject too well known.

And at the end, he confesses the deficiencies in his play:

The reason is, that now of truth I sing,
And should I adde, or else diminish aught,
Many of these spectators then could say
I have committed error in my play.
Bear with this true and home-borne Tragedy,
Yeelding so slender argument and scope
To build a matter of importance on.

This peculiar attitude towards the subject—the editor of the play calls especial attention to it—at once sug-

gested to me Heywood, who on one other occasion (and, so far as we know, only one) made use of a similar theme. In *The Witches of Lancashire*¹ he celebrated "a true and home-born" theme that had been the subject of prose pamphlets; and to his audience he apologizes in the same way (II, p. 169):

Corrantoës failing, and no foot post late
 Possessing us with Newes of forraine State,
 No accidents abroad worthy Relation
 Arriving here, we are forc'd from our owne Nation
 To ground the Scene that's now in agitation.
 The Project unto many here well knowne;
 Those Witches the fat Iaylor brought to Towne.
 An Argument so thin, persons so low,
 Can neither yield much matter, nor great show.
 Expect no more than can from such be rais'd;
 So may the Scene pass pardon'd though not prais'd.

Heywood's opinion of what constituted proper argument for a drama (given in his Prologue to *A Challenge for Beauty*), has, perhaps, some significance in connection with the two apologies quoted above:

For where before great Patriots, Dukes and Kings
 Presented for some high facinorous things,
 Were the Stage-Subject; now we strive to fly
 In their low pitch who never could soar high. . . .
 I only wish that they would sometimes bend
 To memorize the valours of such men
 Whose very names might dignifie the Pen.

Exactly this he had been doing in the *Ages*, written immediately before *A Warning*; and this he strove to do in most of his plays.

6. *A Warning* is conspicuous for its sincere and whole-

¹ The play was slightly touched up by Richard Brome for a revival. For Brome's small share in the play, see C. E. Andrews, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, June, 1913, vol. XXVIII, p. 163.

some Christianity. A certain amount of goodly admonition might be expected from the theme of "a cruel and unnatural murder"; and the prose pamphlet that the play dramatizes records the penitence of the guilty parties before their execution. Yet the playwright goes beyond the author of the pamphlet in his sympathy and earnestness. We feel that he was genuinely interested in the salvation of his characters. Such naïve piety is thoroughly characteristic of Heywood, more so, perhaps, than of any other Elizabethan playwright.¹ Mr. Bullen speaks of "the charm of that hearty 'Christianism' which is never absent from Heywood's work." It is present in abundance in *A Warning*. Such passages as the following may readily be matched in the plays of Heywood:²

Yet God is greater than thy conscience,
And he can save when al the world condemns.

—*Warning*, II, 1250-1.

And yet we may obtaine forgiveness,
If we wil seeke it at our Saviour's hands.
But if we wilfully shut up our hearts
Against the holy spirit that knockes for entrance. . . .

—*Warning*, II, 1577-80.

Allied to this "hearty Christianity" is the custom of using Biblical quotations and imagery.³ For example:

He doth stand
Like to an Angel with a fryr sworde
To barre mine entrance at that fatall door.

—*Warning*, II, 717-718.

¹ It is noticeably absent in Shakespeare.

² See, for example, the concluding scenes in the life of Jane Shore (*K. Ed. IV.*), or the repentant scenes in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*.

³ See my article, "Thomas Heywood and *How a Man may Choose a Good Wife from a Bad*," in *Englische Studien*, XLV, p. 43.

Yours soule shall finde a place
In Abraham's bosome.—*Warning*, II, 1610-1611.

'Twill raise up to you
A crowne of glory in another world.—*Warning*, II, 1614-1615.

7. The wholesome personality of Heywood may be discovered in almost every scene in the play. The prose pamphlet gives no indication as to the character of Sanders, the London merchant; yet the play endows him with all those fine qualities which Heywood gives to the class. For example, Sanders says (*Warning*, I, 517-18):

I do not use, thou know'st, to break my word,
Much less my bond.

Cf. Heywood, *I. K. N. M.* (I, p. 252):

Mer. You keep your word.
Gresham. Else should I ill deserve
The title that I wear; a merchant's tongue
Should not strike false.¹

Again, in the playwright's treatment of George Browne, the murderer of the unsuspecting Sanders, we detect the personality of Heywood. The pamphlet concerns itself mainly with narrating his crime, but the play lays emphasis upon the nobler qualities in Browne's nature, and the sufferings of that better nature outraged by this one crime. As the editor of *The Warning* puts it: "The playwright (or some one having a hand in the play) has contrived to give several touches to the chief character, Browne, which tend to the making of that character a hero of Tragedy rather than a mere malefactor—a process more completely—indeed, quite completely, and most sublimely

¹ Cf. also:

You are a souldier, and a gentleman.
And should speak all truth. —*F. M. W.* (II, p. 408).

—exemplified in the character of Macbeth.” A much closer parallel than Macbeth would be Heywood’s Dalavill, in *The English Traveller*, or Wendol, in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*. In a lower degree, the same qualities are noticeable in Heywood’s other villains, for example in Sextus, of *The Rape of Lucrece*, in Edward, who wronged Jane Shore, in *King Edward IV.*, or in Lord Averne, who murdered Friar John in *The Captives*.

Again, one discovers Heywood the man in the wonderfully sympathetic picture of childhood, in *A Warning*, II, 683-732. Compare this with Heywood’s representation of a small boy in *I. K. N. M.* (I, pp. 219-20). Observe that in each case the boy addresses the strange man as “Gaffer”; that the man addresses the boy as “sweet boy” and “pretty boy”; that in each case there is a reference to whipping (“Youle be ierkt”—*Warning*, II, 724; “I shall be soundly whipt”—*I. K. N. M.*, p. 219); and that in each case a childish bribe is offered.

Outside of character portrayal, too, the wholesome personality of Heywood is to be discovered. Note, for example, the idea of hospitality:

Gent. Sir, this house of yours; you come but to your own;
And what else I call mine is wholly yours,
So much I do endear your love, sweet Master Sanders.

—*Warning*, II, 72-4.

This conception of hospitality is characteristic of Heywood:

Sir, a word with you:
I know you, sir, to be a Gentleman
In all things; your possibilities but mean;
Please you to use my table, and my purse,
They are yours.—*W. K. K.* (II, p. 104).

Call my house your own
And all I have, sweet lady, at your will.

—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 149).

I would have you
Think this your home, free as your father's house
And to command it, as the Master on't;
Call boldly here, and entertain your friends
As in your own possessions.—*Eng. T.* (IV, p. 10).¹

8. Certain anecdotes are told in *A Warning* to illustrate the idea that "murder will out." These anecdotes reappear with fuller details in Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, and, so far as I am aware, nowhere else.² I quote first from *A Warning*, II, 1062-1066:

I have heard it told, that digging up a grave,
Wherein a man had twenty yeeres bin buried,
By finding of a naile knockt in the scalpe,
By due enquiry who was buried there,
The murther yet at length did come to light.

Heywood, who seems to have been thoroughly familiar with the story, tells it in full. I quote a part of his narrative:³

In this agony she some few days languished, and on a time, as certaine of her well disposed neighbours came to comfort her, one amongst the rest being church-warden: to him the sexton posts, to tell him of a strange thing happening to him in the ripping up of a grave: See here (quoth he) what I have found; and shewes them a faire skull, with a great nayle pierst quite through the braine-pan: But we cannot conjecture to whom it should belong, nor how long it hath laine in the earth, the grave being confused, and the flesh consumed. At the report of this accident, the woman, out of the trouble of her afflicted conscience, discovered a former murder; for 12 yeares ago, by driving that nayle into that skull, being the head of her husband, she had treacherously slaine him.

¹ Cf. also Heywood, IV, p. 67; IV, p. 68.

² Shakespeare's vague reference in *Hamlet*, II, ii may be a recollection of one of the anecdotes in *A Warning*.

³ *Shakespeare Society Publications*, 1841, p. 59.

In *A Warning*, II, 1076-87, appears also the following anecdote:

Ile tell you, sir, one more to quite your tale.
 A woman that had made away her husband,
 And sitting to behold a tragedy,
 At Linne,¹ a towne in Norfolke,
 Acted by Players travelling that way,—
 Wherein a woman that had murderd hers
 Was ever haunted with her husband's ghost,
 The passion written by a feeling pen,
 And acted by a good tragedian,—
 She was so mooved with the sight thereof,
 As she cryed out, 'the play was made by her,'
 And openly confess[ed] her husband's murder.

This story, too, reappears in Heywood's *Apology* with fuller details: ²

At Lin, in Norfolke, the then Earl of Sussex players acting the old History of Feyer Francis, and presenting a woman who, insatiately doting on a yong gentleman, (the more securely to enjoy his affection) mischievously and secretly murdered her husband, whose ghost haunted her; and, at divers times in her most solitary and private contemplations, in most horrid and feareful shapes, appeared and stood before her. As this was acted, a towne's-woman (till then of good estimation and report) finding her conscience (at this presentment) extremely troubled, suddenly skritch'd and cried out, Oh! my husband, my husband! I see the ghost of my husband fiercely threatning and menacing me! At which shrill and unexpected outery, the people about her, moov'd to a strange amazement, inquired the reason of her clamour, when presently, un-urged, she told them that seven yeares ago she, to be possesst of such a gentleman (meaning him), had poysoned her husband.

The author of *A Warning* tells a third story to illustrate the strange ways in which murder comes to light; but since this story has nothing to do with the theatre, Heywood can make no use of it in his *Apology for Actors*.

¹ *I. e.*, King's Lynne.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

Of course these stories, and others, may have been known to the actors and playwrights, but the reappearance of both of these together, and in the same versions, lends considerable probability to the assignment of the play to Heywood.

9. Finally, in minute details of composition—ways of thinking, sentence structure, and those colorless phrases that go into the make-up of sentences—the close student of Heywood will, I think, feel the presence of that writer's "hand and head." If there are not many striking parallelisms in thought and phrase, the reader must remember that the playwright was engaged in turning "true" events into dramatic form. A study of the prose pamphlet shows that he so keenly felt his duty to present the facts truly that he gave his inventive genius very little liberty. It is to be noted, too, that Heywood (if he be the author) had no chance to introduce his favorite comic character, the clownish servant, and the sort of humor that accompanied this type.

Yet, in spite of these obstacles, I have been able to bring together some evidence of Heywood's style. That most of the phrases I quote appear in the works of other writers, is of little moment. The significant fact is that all of these phrases appear in both *A Warning* and in the acknowledged plays of Heywood. I may add that none of them, so far as I can discover, appears in the two acknowledged plays of Lodge.

Here Mistress Drury this same ring is yours,
Wear't for my sake.—*Warning*, I, 241-2.

Here's a ring, weare't for my sake.—*W. H. H.* (v, p. 287).

Browne. Heark ye, my friend,
Are not you servant unto Mistress Drury?
Rob. Yes, indeed, forsooth, for fault of a better.

—*Warning*, I, 124-7.

Spi. Well sirrah, then thou must be my hangman?

Chub. I, by my troth, sir, for fault of a better.

—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 38).

Or of my nose bleeding this morning; for as I was washing
my hands my nose bled three drops.—*Warning, II*, 559-60.

Ric. What, bleeds your grace?

Ed. I, two drops and no more.—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 154).

And with a lucky arm, sluice out his life.—*Warning, II*, 96-97.

But here's a knife . . . shall slice [= sluice?] out my life.

—*W. K. K.* (II, p. 145).

But, questionless, some power, or else prayer

Of some religious friend or other, guards him.

—*Warning, II*, 373-4.

But some power

Is my good Maister, and preserves me still.

—*Four P.* (II, p. 186. Cf. II, p. 364).

Oh, maister Doctor, were my breast transparent

That what is figurde there might he perceiv'd.

—*Warning, II*, 1635-6.

As I could wish my breast to be transparent

And my thoughts written in great letters there

The world might reade the secrets of my soule.

—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 133).

For this [idea] will hammer so within her head as . . .

—*Warning, I*, 705.

The careful thoughts that hammer in my brain.

—*F. M. E.* (II, p. 66).

There more hammers beating in my brain . . . more ideas
than . . .

—*I. A.* (III, p. 369).

Strikes such a terror to my guilty conscience.

—*Warning, II*, 713.

Have strucke such terror to my soule.—*Warning, II*, 1544.

It strikes a terror . . . to scorch my blood up.

—*W. K. K.* (II, p. 149).

And to strike greater terror to the world.

—*R. of L.* (V, p. 187).

I trust sir when my mistress hath obtained your suit
You'll suit me in a cast suit of your apparell.

—*Warning*, I, 287-8.

Cap. Pray, what's your suit?

Host. Only for a cast suit.

Cap. And thou shalt have the suit I last put off.

R. K. L. S. (VI, p. 62).

Heaven will stil take due revenge on murther.

—*Warning*, II, 1415.

What due revenge I ought to take.—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 128).

Who was it that thundered in mine ears.—*Warning*, II, 517.

The voice of death still thunders in mine ears.

—*G. A.* (III, p. 48).

Bean. What shall I bring from London?

Bar. A fool's head.

Bean. A calf's head's better meat.—*Warning*, II, 165-7.

In *The Iron Age* (III, p. 274), Helen of Troy speaks of the "worth and beauty" of her face, whereupon the clown remarks aside: "I had rather have a good calf's face."

I kept my childbed chamber at that time,
Where 'twas not meete that he, or any man,
Should have accesse.—*Warning*, II, 1340-3.

This thought was in Heywood's mind while he was writing *The Golden Age*. A Lord, dispatched by Saturn to the "child-bed" room of Sibilla, is denied access (III, p. 17): "Forbeare, sir, for this place is priviledg'd, and only free for women."

I am as well resolv'd to goe to death
As if I were invited to a banquet.—*Warning*, II, 1619-20.

I should have gone contented to my grave
As to my bed; to death, as to my sleep.

—*Eng. T.* (IV, p. 13).

I would it lay in me to helpe you sir.—*Warning*, I, 479.

Would it lay in me to pleasure him.—*F. L. S.* (VI, p. 405).

Spoke like a champion of the holy Crosse!

—*Warning*, II, 1624.

Spoke like a gallant, spoke like a gentleman!

—*F. M. E.* (II, p. 13).

I will revenge me on these tising eyes

And teare them out for being amorous.—*Warning*, II, 662-3.

First, I'll rend these eyes out

That sotted with the love of Omphale . . .

—*B. A.* (III, p. 245).

The same idea is repeated in *The Silver Age* (III, p. 148), and in *The Iron Age* (III, p. 386).

That you have won to stoop unto the lure.

—*Warning*, I, 406.

Your duty cannot stoop but to her lure.

—*F. M. W.* (II, p. 40).

The phrase is very common in Heywood.

The very stones

That lie within the streetes cry out for vengeance.

—*Warning*, II, 766-7.

The very senselesse stones here in the walles

Breake out in teares.—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 154).

But here I give to each of you a booke

Of holy meditations.—*Warning*, II, 1680-1.

And next receive this book . . . These holy meditations.

—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 167).

Ile cleere my conscience,

And make the truth apparent to the world.

—*Warning*, II, 1568-9.

Now discharge thy conscience;

Lay open thine offences to the world.—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 53).

Thereby to save me in the world to come.—*Warning*, II, 1665.

Heaven will not clear it in the world to come.

—*W. K. K.*, (II, p. 155).

Then, too, a filthy whining ghost . . .
Comes screaming, like a pig half stick'd,
And cries *Vindicta!*—*Warning*, I, 47-50.

His murderd ghost is come from Hell
On earth to cry *Vindicta!*—*Cap.*, 102.

Mercy I aske of God . . .
And of al men and women in the world,
Whom by my foule example I have griev'd.
—*Warning*, II, 1655-60.

Lo. Just. God forgive ye both!
Brown. Amen, my Lord; and you, and al the world.
—*Warning*, II, 1231-2.

For which vile deed I mercy beg of Heaven,
Next of the World, whom I offended too.—*Cap.*, 213.

There's for thee to drink.—*Warning*, I, 303.

There is some few coins for thee to drink.
—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 55).

For my sake drink this.—*Warning*, I, 483.

Drink that for my sake.—*Cap.*, 198, *K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 123).

In the case of blood
God's justice hath bin stil miraculous.
—*Warning*, II, 1060-1.

Murder is a sin
Which often is miraculously reveal'd.—*Cap.*, 202.

And may be tempered easily, like wax.—*Warning*, I, 403.

You find her pliant?
As a thing of wax.—*C. f. B.* (v, p. 38).

Murther and death sit on my fatal hand.—*Warning*, II, 108.

I never saw three faces in whose looks
Did ever sit more terror or more death.
—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 152).

It is my love. O how the dusky night
Is by her coming forth made sheen and bright!
—*Warning*, II, 340-1.

You sacred stars [*i. e.*, women]

That add bright glory to the sable night.

—*F. M. E.* (II, p. 7).¹

Th' affrighted ladies light the darkest rooms

With their bright beauties.—*G. A.* (III, p. 23).

Browne, coming to court Mistress Sanders as she sits before her husband's shop, says:

Yonder she sits to light this obscure street,

Like a bright diamond worn in some dark place.

—*Warning*, I, 308.

Similarly, King Edward, coming in disguise to court Jane Shore as she sits before her husband's shop, says:

Oh, rare perfection of rich Nature's work!

Bright twinkling spark of precious diamond,

Of greater value than all India!

Were there no sun . . . etc. —*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 64).

The two scenes, I may add, are quite similar throughout, and the same situation is repeated in *W. W. H.* (v, p. 284).

Shall keep you in your hood and gown of silk,
And when you stir abroad, ride in your coach,
And have your dozen men all in a livery
To wait upon you.—*Warning*, I, 650-3.

Where's all your servants?

Where is your gowne of silk, your periwigs?

—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 168).

I be his pilot? whither, canst thou tell?

—*Warning*, I, 383.

The phrase "canst thou tell" thrown in after a question is very common in Heywood:

When, canst thou tell? (I, 88; IV, 125; V, 139; VI, 365).

¹ Cf. *Warning*, II, 98: "Oh sable night."

With what, con yeou tell?—*W. of L.* (iv, p. 234).

Whick way, con yeow tell?—*W. of L.* (iv, p. 183).

Whither, canst thou tell?—*F. M. W.* (ii, p. 275).

This is somewhat like.—*Warning*, i, 653.

Why this is somewhat like.—*W. W. H.* (v, p. 303).

I marry this was somewhat to th' purpose.

—*L. M.* (v, p. 125).

About the matter you wot of.—*Warning*, ii, 358.

The matter you wot of.—*I. K. N. M.* (i, p. 279).

Concerning that you wot of.—*Warning*, i, 427.

The thing you wot of.—*G. A.* (iii, p. 70).

If the thing you wot of.—*M. W. L.* (iv, p. 163).

Her wickednesse, the bawd unto her sinne.

—*Warning*, ii, 1443.

That door, that's bawd unto my shame.

—*W. K. K.* (ii, p. 137).

Too faire a creature for so fowle an act.

—*Warning*, ii, 1020.

Oh that so foule a name

Should be applied to so faire a garment!

—*K. Ed. IV.* (i, p. 165).

This is illustrative of Heywood's fondness for balancing with alliteration.

And had a finger in her husband's blood.

—*Warning*, ii, 422.

In which I have had either an entire hand, or at the least
a maine finger.

—*Eng. T.* (iv, p. 5).

Are not my deeds ugly?

Then let my faults be written in my face.

—*Warning*, ii, 665-6.

On whosse white brows thy shame is character'd.

—*W. K. K.* (ii, p. 140).

As were it writ upon thy brow.—*M. W. L.* (iv, p. 108).

If God were pleased that it should be so.

—*Warning*, i, 655.

'Twas God's good wil it should be so.—*Warning*, ii, 1107.

God hath laid this cross upon our heads,

Might had he pleasd, have . . . —*W. K. K.* (ii, p. 155).

As kind a peate as London can afford.—*Warning*, i, 188.

What sweet can earth afford?—*Warning*, i, 504.

A fitter place the town affords not.—*Warning*, ii, 93-4.

The stereotyped phrase with "affords" is almost an obsession with Heywood, and the student of his style will note the above occurrences of the phrase with interest.
Cf.:

England affords none such.—*I. K. N. M.* (i, p. 295).

The world affords no place.—*I. A.* (iii, p. 374).

Scarce can the world afford a richer prize.

—*Four P.* (ii, p. 221).

England affords not a more compleate virgin.

—*R. K. L. S.* (vi, p. 42).

Allied to the preceding (in general idea) is:

O, Earth hath seldom such a creature seen.

—*Warning*, i, 476.

Cf.:

But the world yields not so divine a creature.

—*R. of L.* (v, p. 212).

One more rare Earth yielded not.—*S. A.* (iii, p. 146).

Above what earth can yield.—*F. M. W.* (ii, p. 379).

Occurrences of this phrase in Heywood could be multiplied several times.

It is not millions that can ransome thee.

—*Warning*, ii, 500.

The word "millions" is often employed by Heywood to indicate a large number. Cf.:

No discovery of yourselves for a million.

—*W. W. of H.* (v, p. 308).

And would not send her to prison for a million.

—*I. K. N. M.* (I, p. 209).

I would not . . . for a million.—*F. M. W.* (II, p. 402).¹

It is not millions that can ransom thee.

—*Warning*, II, 500.

All the gold in Cheapside cannot ransom her.

—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 16).

Kil him? Yea, were his life ten thousand lives,

Not any sparke or cinder of the same

Should be vnquencht in bloud at thy request.

—*Warning*, II, 441-3.

But thou hast kill'd a man, whom to have sav'd,

Had I a thousand lives, I'd lose them all.

—*C. f. B.* (v, p. 61).²

For all this world I would not.—*Warning*, II, 1051.

Not for the world.

—*Four P.* (II, p. 184); *F. M. W.* (II, p. 380).

Not for a world.—*C. f. B.* (v, p. 33).

Al the world's wealth could not intice me too't.

—*Warning*, II, 1128 (Cf. also II, 492; II, 537).

Al London's wealth . . . should not.—*Warning*, II, 862.

I'de not change it for the wealth of Italy.

—*F. M. W.* (II, p. 402).

That more contents me than the wealth of Spain.

—*C. f. B.* (v, p. 37).

The phrase was a favorite one with Heywood.

¹ Cf. I will not wrong her for a thousand pound.—*Warning*, I, 211.

² Cf. also I, 67; II, 127, 140, 146, 273, 324, 357, 364, 383; v, 192; etc.

Beare with this true and home-borne Tragedy
 Yeelding so slender argument and scope
 To build a matter of importance on.

—*Warning*, II, 1704-6 (Epilogue).

They [*i. e.*, foreign playwrights] do not build their projects
 [*i. e.*, plays] on that ground.—*C. f. B.* (v, p. 3) (Prologue).

Not only is the general idea similar, but the phrase
 "to build upon" is exceedingly common in Heywood,
 for it is one of his stock ways of expressing himself.
 It appears again in *A Warning*, I, 435:

Thy trust it is I build upon.

Cf. Heywood:

Whose loyalty we now must build upon.

—*R. K. L. S.* (VI, p. 30).

I build upon thy council.—*I. A.* (III, p. 410).

I do build upon your secrecy.—*F. M. E.* (II, p. 36).

On her behaviour I will build my fate.

—*F. M. W.* (II, p. 290).

Likewise in *Cap.*, 135, 182; I, 145; II, 45, 124, 224;
 III, 43, 293, 324, 399, 407; IV, 64, 103; V, 172; VI, 402;
 etc.

Or think it in a heart did never harbour.

—*Warning*, II, 754.

The dearest thoughts that harbour in this breast.

—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 130).

How like a fatal comet did that light
 With this portentous vision fright mine eyes!

—*Warning*, II, 134.

And these shall like a bloody meteor show.
 More dreadful than Orion's flaming locks,
 T'affright the Giants that oppress the earth.

—*S. A.* (III, pp. 131-2).

Like a blazing comet that foretells the fall of princes.

—*Four P.* (II, p. 212).

It shows like a red meteor in the troubled air.

—*Four P.* (II, p. 212).

He doth not live dare charge me with it.

—*Warning*, II, 1028.

Breathes there any living dares say . . . —*H. M. C.*, p. 80.

There lives not in this land

Can touch me with the thought of murder.

—*Warning*, II, 943-4.

Than you, sir! he lives not.—*F. M. E.* (II, p. 27).

There lives not one more free and sociable.

—*F. L. S.* (VI, p. 366).

Pretus. Treason! Our guard.

Perseus. Lives there a man, the tyrant Pretus dead . . .

—*S. A.* (III, p. 94).

Lives there a King that would . . .

—*K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 65).

Liv'd there such a creature, would not . . .

—*C. f. B.* (V, p. 31).

Soules health.—*Warning*, II, 1593.

This not uncommon phrase appears frequently in Heywood; see *K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 54), *W. W. H.* (V, p. 351), *H. M. C.* (p. 15), etc.

Must wade through blood t' obtain my vile desire.

—*Warning*, II, 101.

This idea is very frequent in Heywood:

And my desire

Shall wade with thee through blood.—*B. A.* (III, p. 219).

Likewise *G. A.* (III, p. 8), *F. M. W.* (II, p. 357), *R. of L.* (V, p. 186), etc.

Were they ten, mine arme is strong enough.

—*Warning*, II, 461.

Were you ten knights.—*W. H. H.* (v, p. 342).

Wert thou ten Hectors.—*I. A.* (III, p. 294).

In *A Warning*, Browne says to Misstress Drury that unless he can enjoy Mistress Sanders he will die, and he begs her to help him. She responds (I, 254-6):

This I say—

I cannot make a man. To cast away

So goodly a creature as yourself were sin.

Accordingly she grants his request. The same idea appears in one of Heywood's plays, but I am unable to locate the passage. Note, however, the following:

That claim we, as we're men, we would but live;

Then take not from us what you cannot give.

—*G. A.* (III, p. 74).

A hundred thousand pound cannot make a man.

—*I. K. N. M.* (I, p. 321).

The author of *A Warning* refers to the interior of the theatre as a "round." This is quite natural, yet it is at least worth noting that Heywood was fond of the idea:

All this fair circuit.—*Warning*, I, 83.

Many now in this Round.—*Warning*, I, 88.

This theatre round.—*C. f. B.* (v, p. 66).

If then the world a theatre present,

As by the roundness it appears most fit.—*Apology* (p. 13).

Within this circumference.—*Four P.* (II, p. 166).

In his speech from the scaffold, Browne says (*Warning*, II, 1447-8):

Vile world, how like a monster come I soyld from thee!

How have I wallowed in thy loathsome filth, etc.

No authority for this appears in the prose pamphlet. But Heywood was fond of making his characters at the point of death address with reproaches the World personified.

Thus, in *C. f. B.* (v, p. 68), Bonavide, at the moment of execution, says:

Farewell, world,
Growne so corrupt . . .

And in *I. A.* (III, p. 421), Egistus, dying, says:

Vain world, farewell!

In *L. M.* (v, p. 100), Psiche, standing on top of a rock and ready for death, says: "Vain world, adieu." In *K. Ed. IV.* (I, p. 181), Shore, on the point of death, apostrophizes the world:

"O world, what are thou? man, even from his birth
Finds nothing else but misery on earth,
Thou never (World) scornst me so much before;
But I, vain World, do hate thee ten times more.
I am glad I see approaching death so nie;
World, thou hatest me: I, thee, vain World, defie.¹

I have not recorded here all the similarities in phraseology or in ideas that I have observed, and another student of the play, I have no doubt, could point out many more. However, I have given enough, I hope, to show that the lines in *A Warning* may have come from the brain of Heywood. I am confident that the scholar, in passing from a reading of Heywood's plays to a reading of *A Warning*, will be unconscious of any change in style. Indeed, there is, it seems to me, less difference of style between this play and the typical work of Heywood than is to be found between some of Heywood's acknowledged plays. If we grant that Heywood at some time during the years 1595-8 was free to write for the Lord Chamberlain's servants, I see no reason why *A Warning* should not be assigned to his pen.

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, JR.

¹ Likewise, on page 183, he exclaims: "Oh unconstant World!"

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